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PORTUGUESE HISTORY OF MALACCA.

[The following paper is reprinted from a volume of the *Malacca Observer*, a newspaper published in Malacca in 1823. It appears to have been borrowed in the main from the "Asia Portugueza" of MANUEL DE FARIA Y SOUZA, a translation of which is to be found in Vol. VI of KERR'S *Voyages*. The notes have been supplied principally by Mr. D. F. A. HERVEY. E. KOEK.]



MALACCA was built by the Celates, ⁽¹⁾ a people who chiefly subsisted by fishing, and who united themselves with the Malays, who inhabited the mountains. Their first Chief was Paramisôra, ⁽²⁾ who had been a person of high rank in the island of Java, whence he was expelled by another Chief who usurped his lordship, on which occasion Paramisôra fled to Cincapura (Singapura) ⁽³⁾ where he was well received by the lord of that place and raised to high employment. But having rebelled against his benefactor, ⁽⁴⁾ he was driven from thence by the King of Siam, and forced to wander about Malacca, as

⁽¹⁾ *i.e. orang laut*—no doubt from "Sĕlat," the common designation of Singapore now-a-days by Malacca people.

⁽²⁾ Javanese, *Prâma-sûra*, or *Prâmeya-sûra*; Sanscrit, *Apramasya-sûra*, incomparable hero (?).

⁽³⁾ Sanscrit, *Sinha*, lion, *pûra*, city (*cf.* Indra-pûra, on west coast of Sumatra).

⁽⁴⁾ DE BARROS says he murdered him, and ruled Singapore 5 years, before he was expelled by the Siamese under the Râja of Patâni, who was brother of the murdered king.

a just punishment for his ingratitude. ⁽¹⁾ Having drawn together a number of the before-mentioned natives, with whom he established a new colony, he gave the name of Malacca to the rising city, signifying in the language of the country a banished man, ⁽²⁾ as a memorial of his own fortune. The first king of Malacca was XAQUE DARXA OF SHEIKH DARSHAH, ⁽³⁾ called by some authors RAAL SAIB, who was the son of PARAMISÔ RA, and was subject to the King of Siam; but from whom his successors revolted. ⁽⁴⁾ In the Chinese Records, AUNGOT'S Collection, quoted by Colonel YULE in his Marco Polo, vol. ii.

⁽¹⁾ The account given in LEYDEN'S translation of the Sējārah Malāyu differs entirely from this, making Malacca to be founded by Rāja ISKANDER SHAH, the ruler of Singapore (in proper succession), on his expulsion from that city by the Javanese despatched by the Bêtara of Majapahit. DE BARROS' account is the most trustworthy. The Chronicler in the Sējārah possibly preferred admitting defeat by Javanese, probably the original founders of Singapore, in place of the Siamese, long a national enemy, and of a different creed. According to LEYDEN'S translation of the Sējārah Malāyu, Raja ISKANDER SHAH, after settling on the Muar for a time, gave it up and removed to Sangang (Sungei?) Ujong, where he left a "mantri" (minister), and proceeded to Bértam (a place 8 or 9 miles up the Malacca River, but called, in the Sējārah, a river), where he had a "pělandok" hunt, and a *white* "pělandok" was so plucky as to resist one of the dogs and drive it into the water; the Rāja was much pleased at this incident, and finding the tree under which he was waiting was the "*malaka*" tree, decided to found a city there and call it after the tree. Mr. W. E. MAXWELL has pointed out that this tradition closely resembles a Guzrāti one, and is probably borrowed from it. See Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1881.

⁽²⁾ Said to mean so in Javanese, but it is no doubt taken from the tree of that name, *Emblica officinalis*, which grows in the country.

⁽³⁾ The Commentaries of ALBUQUERQUE state that he visited China, and became the Emperor's vassal, and got leave to coin money, which he did on his return, of pewter called "cash."

⁽⁴⁾ The Commentaries of ALBUQUERQUE state that Malacca became independent of Siam about 90 years before ALBUQUERQUE attacked it.

p. 263, it is stated that the King of Malacca went to China to pay homage in person in the year 1411; but he is called PEILIMISULA, *i.e.*, PARAMISURA.

Before the discovery of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope, the spices and other productions of India were brought to Europe with vast trouble and expense, so that they were necessarily sold at very high prices. The cloves of the Moluccas, the nutmegs and mace of Banda, the sandal-wood of Timor, the camphor of Borneo, the gold and silver of Luconia, ⁽¹⁾ with all the other and various rich commodities, spices, gums, perfumes, and curiosities of China, Japan, Siam, and other kingdoms of the continent and islands of India, were carried to the great mart of Malacca, a city in the peninsula of that name, which is supposed to have been the Aurea Chersonesus of the ancients. From that place, the inhabitants of the more western countries, between Malacca and the Red Sea, procured all these commodities, dealing by way of barter, no money being used in this trade, as silver and gold were in much less request in these eastern parts of India than foreign commodities. By this trade, Calicut, Cambaya, Ormuz, Aden, and other cities were much enriched. The merchants of these cities, besides what they procured at Malacca as before-mentioned, brought rubies from Pegu, rich stuffs from Bengal, pearls from Calicare, diamonds from Narsinga, cinnamon and rich rubies from Ceylon, pepper, ginger, and other spices from the coast of Malabar and other places where these are produced. From Ormuz these commodities were conveyed up the Persian Gulf to Bassorah, at the mouth of the Euphrates, and were thence distributed by caravans through Armenia, Trebizond, Tartary, Aleppo, and Damascus; and from these latter cities, by means of the port of Beyrut in Syria, the Venetians, Genoese and Catalonians carried them to their respective countries, and to other parts of Europe. Such of these commodities as went by the Red Sea were landed at Tor or Suez, at the bottom of that gulf, whence they were conveyed overland to Cairo in Egypt, and thence down the Nile to Alexandria, where they were shipped for Europe.

(1) *i.e.* Luzon.

We find, according to this historian, (1) that it was in July, (2) 1427, when VASCO (3) DE GAMA started to discover the passage round the Cape. The voyage had been projected eighty-five years before, in 1412, by Prince HENRY of Portugal.

The first visit paid to Malacca by the then enterprising Portuguese appears to have been in 1508, (4) when DIEGO LOPEZ SEQUEIRA, (5) who had sailed from Lisbon with LEMOS, was entrusted with the discovery of Madagascar and Malacca. Arriving at the port of St. Sebastian in the island of Madagascar, he ran along the coast, using a Portuguese as his interpreter, who had been left there and had acquired the language. In the course of this part of his voyage he had some intercourse with a king or prince of the natives named DIAMAN, by whom he was civilly treated; but being unable to procure intelligence of any spices or silver, the great object of his voyage, and finding much trouble and no profit, he proceeded to India in the prosecution of the further orders he had received from the king. He was well received by ALMEYDA, (6) the viceroy, who gave him an additional ship, commanded by GARCIA DE SOUZA, to assist in the discovery of Malacca. In the prosecution of his voyage he was well treated by the kings of Pedir and Pacam, (7) who sent him presents, and at both places he erected crosses indicating discovery and possession. He at length cast anchor in the port of Malacca, where he terrified the people by the thunder of his cannon, so

(1) MANUEL DE FABIA Y SOUZA.

(2) According to CASTANHEDA, on the 8th July; according to ANT. GALVANO, the 20th June.

(3) Also *Vasques*.

(4) In 1509 SEQUEIRA reached Malacca; the expedition sent by King EMANUEL set out in 1508.

(5) DE SEQUEYRA. There are still representatives of this name in the Straits.

(6) ALBUQUERQUE's predecessor.

(7) Pâsei, not far from the ancient city of Samadra, between T' Pêrlak (Diamond Point) and Têlok Samâwei; usually written "Paçem" by the Portuguese.

that every one hastened on board their ships to endeavour to defend themselves from this new and unwelcome guest.

A boat came off with a message from the town, to inquire who they were and what they wanted, to which LOPEZ sent back for answer that he brought an ambassador from the King of Portugal, to propose entering into a treaty of peace and commerce advantageous for the king and city of Malacca. The king sent back a message in dubious language, such as is usual among the Orientals when they mean to act treacherously, as some of the Moorish merchants, from enmity to the Portuguese, had prevailed upon him and his favourite Bandara, (1) by means of rich presents, to destroy LOPEZ and the Portuguese. On the third day, LOPEZ sent HIEROM TEIXEIRA (2) in the character of ambassador, attended by a splendid retinue, who was well received on shore, and conducted on an elephant to the king, from whom he returned well pleased. All this was only a bait to entrap the Portuguese to their destruction, and, in addition, the king sent an invitation to LOPEZ to dine with him in public. LOPEZ accepted this invitation, but was informed by a friend of JAO (3) UTIMŪTI Rajah, that the king intended to murder him, on which he sent an excuse on pretence of indisposition. Credit was now given to an advice sent by a Persian woman to DUARTE FERNANDEZ, after she had been prevented by SEQUEIRA from coming on board in the night.

Another contrivance was put in practice to destroy LOPEZ and his ships, by offering a lading of spice, and pretending that it was requisite to send for it to three several places. This succeeded in part, as, while thirty men were sent on shore according to agreement, a fleet of small vessels was secretly prepared under cover of a point of land, ready to assault the ships, while the thirty men were to be murdered in

(1) Bandahara.

(2) This name is also still represented.

(3) This is probably for "Jâwa," UTIMŪTI Râja being Chief of the Javanese, who were said to number 5,000 to 6,000 in Malacca at that time.

the town. At this time likewise a son of UTIMUTI Râjah came on board under pretence of a visit to LOPEZ, and finding him engaged at draughts, requested him to continue his game, that he might have the better opportunity of assassinating him unobserved; and in fact he frequently put his hand to his dagger for the purpose, but waited till the other branches of the intended treachery should begin. At this time, a seaman on one of the tops, who was on the look-out, seeing a throng in the town and hearing a considerable noise, called out 'Treachery! treachery! they kill our men!' LOPEZ instantly threw away the draught-board, calling out 'Arms,' and the son of UTIMUTI, perceiving the treacherous designs discovered, leapt into his boat with his attendants in great consternation. The fleet of boats now came round the point and attacked the Portuguese, who exerted themselves as well as possible in their defence, considering the suddenness of the attack; and sinking many of the enemy's boats, forced the rest to retire.

Not having a sufficient force to take vengeance for this treachery, LOPEZ was under the necessity of quitting Malacca, where he left sixty of his men in slavery, who were made prisoners on shore, and having eight slain. On his way back he took two Moorish ships bound for Malacca; and having arrived at Cape Comorin, he sent on TEIXEIRA and SOUZA with their ships to Cochin, resolving, though ill-provided, to return alone to Portugal, being afraid of ALBUQUERQUE, as he had sided with ALMEYDA in the late disputes respecting the Government of India. He reached the island of Tercera with much difficulty, and from thence proceeded to Lisbon.

We now come to ALBUQUERQUE, who had sailed from Portugal under ALMEYDA. But having been very successful in all the sieges and battles he had undertaken, and being of a bold and enterprising spirit, he assumed the Government of India in opposition ⁽¹⁾to ALMEYDA. Having been informed of the fate of SEQUEIRA's expedition, he resolved to go and

(1) As he had proper credentials from the king, the expression is odd. ALMEYDA certainly opposed *him*.

attack Malacca in person. On the 2nd of May, 1511, ALBUQUERQUE sailed from Cochin on his expedition against Malacca, with 19 ships ⁽¹⁾ and 1,400 soldiers, 800 of whom were Portuguese and 600 Malabars. While off the island of Ceylon, he fell in with and captured five vessels belonging to the Moors, which were bound for Malacca. On arriving at the island of Sumatra, the kings of Pedir and Pisang ⁽²⁾ sent friendly messages to ALBUQUERQUE, on which occasion JUAN DE VIEGAS, one of the men left behind by SEQUEIRA, was restored to freedom, he and others having made their escape from Malacca. ⁽³⁾

On the 1st of July 1511, the Portuguese fleet cast anchor in the roads of Malacca, infusing terror and dismay among multitudes that covered the whole shore, by the clangour of their warlike instruments, and the noise of repeated discharges of cannon, being sensible of their guilty conduct to SEQUEIRA, and conscious that the present armament was designed for their condign punishment. Next day a Moor came off in great state with a message from the king, and was received with much courtesy and ceremonious pomp by ALBUQUERQUE, to whom he said that if he came for trade, the king was ready to supply whatever merchandise he wanted. ALBUQUERQUE made answer that the merchandise he sought for was the restitution of the Portuguese who had been left there by SEQUEIRA, and when they were restored, he should then say what further demands he had to make from the king. On his return to the city, the Moor spread universal consternation by this answer, and it was agreed to endeavour to avert the threatened danger, by restoring the Portuguese, and by paying a large sum of money. But Prince ALA'EDDIN, the son of the king of Pahang, opposed this, and made ready for defence. Upon this ALBU-

(1) The Commentaries of ALBUQUERQUE state 18 vessels, 3 of which were galleys.

(2) Probably "Pâsei," being intended for "Pâçem."

(3) He and eight others were found at Pidir by ALBUQUERQUE on his way to Malacca.

QUERQUE began some military operations, ⁽¹⁾ and the king restored the captives. After this some further negotiations ensued, as the king was desirous of peace, which ALBUQUERQUE offered to agree to, on condition of having permission to build a fortress at Malacca, and that the king should repay the entire charge incurred by SEQUEIRA and the present armament, all the damage having been occasioned by his own treachery and falsehood; but he demanded to have an immediate answer, whether the king chose peace or war. The king was willing to have submitted to the terms demanded by the Portuguese viceroy, but his son and the king of Pahang opposed him, and it was at length determined to stand on their defence.

On the 24th of July, being the eve of St. James the Apostle, everything being disposed in order for attack, the signal was given for landing by the discharge of artillery, and immediately the Portuguese leapt on shore and charged the enemy with loud shouts. The hottest of the battle was about gaining and defending the bridge, which enterprise ALBUQUERQUE undertook in person, and where the enemy, after a vigorous defence, in which great numbers of them were slain, were forced to leap into the river, where many of them were drowned. The prince and the king of Pahang bravely opposed another party of the Portuguese who endeavoured to force their way to the bridge to join the viceroy, and at the same time king MAHMUD came out on a large elephant, attended by two others having castles on their backs, whence numbers of darts were launched against the Portuguese. But the elephants, being soon severely wounded, turned and fled through among their own men, trampling many of them to death, and making way for the Portuguese to join those who had possession of the bridge. At this place ALBUQUERQUE fortified himself, and as considerable harm was done to his men by poisoned arrows discharged from the tops of the adjoining houses, he caused them to be set on fire. After bestowing great praises on his captains for their courageous behaviour,

⁽¹⁾ *i.e.* He burnt some houses on the shore, and ships belonging to the Guzaratis and other traders.

and perceiving that his people began to grow faint by long exertions, excessive heat, and want of food, he withdrew to the ships towards night. Ten of the Portuguese died in consequence of their wounds from the poisoned arrows. The loss of the enemy was not known. The king of Pahang withdrew to his own country, under pretence of bringing a reinforcement, but never returned.

While ALBUQUERQUE rested and refreshed his men on board, MAHMUD was busily employed in making every possible preparation for defending the city. For this purpose he undermined the streets in several places, in hopes to blow up the assailants, strewed poisoned thorns ⁽¹⁾ in the way, covering them over to prevent their being observed. He likewise fortified the bridge, and planted cannon in many places. As a prelude to the second assault, ALBUQUERQUE sent ANTONIO DE ABREU, in a vessel well manned, to gain possession of the bridge. On his way thither he had to pass through showers of bullets from both sides of the river and from the battlements of the bridge, and though desperately wounded, ⁽²⁾ refused to be brought off, when DINIZ FERNANDEZ MELO, who came up to his rescue, proposed sending him to the ships to have his wounds dressed, saying that, "though he neither had strength to fight nor voice to command," he would not quit his post while life remained. Floats of fire were sent down the river to burn the vessel, ⁽³⁾ but at length ALBUQUERQUE in person gained possession of the bridge, and the vessel, being freed from the fire-rafts, had liberty to act against the enemy. Having rested his men a short time on the bridge, ALBUQUERQUE penetrated the city, through showers of bullets, darts,

(1) No doubt *ranjau*, caltrops made of bamboo.

(2) In the jaw.

(3) A big junk brought down to overtop the bridge: but she had to wait nine days until the tide was high enough to carry her over the sandy spit outside the river mouth, and while she was in this position the fire-boats were despatched against her night after night with the ebb-tide, but ALBUQUERQUE was on the watch and kept them off.

and arrows; and having been apprised of the mines in the principal street, he took another way and gained the mosque. At night, after a prodigious slaughter of the enemy, he gained entire possession of the city, having only with him in this action 800 Portuguese and 200 Malabars. At the end of nine days, every one of the Moors who inhabited this great city were either slain or driven out, and it was re-peopled with strangers and some Malays ⁽¹⁾ who were permitted to take possession of the vacant houses. Among those left was UTIMUTI RĀjah, whose son had formerly endeavoured to assassinate SEQUEIRA. UTIMUTI was a rich and powerful native of Java, of whom more hereafter will be said. The soldiers were allowed to plunder the city during three days. There were found 3,000 pieces of great cannon, out of 8,000 which king MAHMUD had relied upon for the defence of his city, the rest having been carried off to Bintang, ⁽²⁾ where the king and Prince ALA'EDDIN had fortified themselves. As it might have been of dangerous consequence to permit these princes to establish themselves so near the city of Malacca, ALBUQUERQUE sent a force to dislodge them, consisting of 400 Portuguese, 400 Malays belonging to UTIMUTI, and 300 men belonging to the merchants of Pegu who resided in Malacca. On the approach of these troops, the King and Prince took flight, leaving seven elephants with all their costly trappings, and the Portuguese returned to Malacca. Now reduced to wander in the woods and mountains of the interior, MAHMUD so severely reflected upon the obstinacy of his son and the king of Pahang, that he and his son quarrelled and separated, each shifting for himself.

To secure this important conquest, ALBUQUERQUE built a fort or citadel at Malacca, which from its beauty was called

⁽¹⁾ According to the Commentaries, the Peguans were the first to come in to ALBUQUERQUE, and ask for peace and leave to trade.

⁽²⁾ This must probably be meant for Bĕrtam, about 8 miles up the river, where the Commentaries say the King's son put up a stockade, which was demolished by a boat expedition sent up by ALBUQUERQUE.

Hermosa. ⁽¹⁾ He likewise built a church, which was dedicated to the Visitation of Our Lady; ⁽²⁾ and coined money of different values and denominations, which was ordered to pass current by proclamation, and some of which he caused to be scattered among the populace. By these and other prudent measures he gained the hearts of the people, attracted strangers to settle in Malacca, and secured this important emporium of trade. Although ALBUQUERQUE was perfectly conscious of the deceitful character of UTIMUTI Rajah, yet, considering it to be sometimes prudent to trust an enemy under proper precautions, he gave him authority over all the Moors that remained at Malacca. It was soon discovered, however, that UTIMUTI carried on a private correspondence with prince ALA'EDDIN, under pretence of restoring him to the sovereignty of Malacca, but in reality for the purpose of using his remaining influence among the people to set himself up. On receiving authentic information of these underhand practices, ALBUQUERQUE caused UTIMUTI with his son and son-in-law to be apprehended, and on conviction of their treason, he ordered them to be publicly executed on the same scaffold which they had formerly destined for SEQUEIRA. This was the first public exercise of sovereign justice which was attempted by the Portuguese in India, but was soon followed by others. PATE QUITIR, ⁽³⁾ another native of Java, whom ALBUQUERQUE appointed to succeed UTIMUTI in the government of the Moors in Malacca, was gained by the widow of UTIMUTI, by promise of her daughter in marriage with a portion of 100,000 ducats, to revenge the death of her husband on the Portuguese, and assassinate ALBUQUERQUE. QUITIR accepted her offer, meaning to seize the city for himself. About the same time, also, the King of Campar ⁽⁴⁾ formed a similar design, for the attain-

(1) The Commentaries say "A Famosa," the famous.

(2) "Nossa Senhora da Annunciada".—*Commentaries, Albuquerque.*

(3) Pati Kuâtir.

(4) In Sumatra, between Siak and Indragîri. The Commentaries say he came to the Muar river, whence he sent an embassy with

ment of which purpose he sent a congratulatory embassy to ALBUQUERQUE, from whom he demanded the office which had been conferred on QUITIR. These plots, having no consequences at this time, shall be further explained in the sequel.

During his residence at Malacca, ALBUQUERQUE received embassies from several princes, particularly from the King of Siam; and he sent likewise embassies in return to the Kings of Siam ⁽¹⁾ and Pegu. He sent also two ships to discover the Molucca islands and Banda, and gave orders to let it be known in all quarters that Malacca was now under the dominion of Portugal, and that merchants from every part of India would be received there on more favourable terms than formerly. Having now established everything in Malacca to his mind, ALBUQUERQUE determined upon returning to Cochin, leaving RUY DE BRITO BATALIM ⁽²⁾ to command the fort, with a garrison of 300 men. He left at the same time FERDINANDO PEREZ DE ADURADA, ⁽³⁾ with 10 ships and 300 soldiers, to protect the trade, and carried four ships with himself on his return to Cochin.

PATE QUITIR, the native of Java, who had been preferred by ALBUQUERQUE to the command of the native inhabitants of Malacca, continued to carry on measures for expelling the Portuguese, and having strengthened himself secretly, at last broke out into rebellion. Having slain a Portuguese captain and several men, and taken some pieces of cannon, he suddenly fortified the quarter of the city in which he resided, and stood on his defence with 6,000 men and two elephants. FERDINANDO PEREZ and ALONSO PESSOA went against him with 320 men, partly by land and partly by water, and, after a long contest,

presents to ALBUQUERQUE, offering himself as a vassal to the king of Portugal, which was accepted, but nothing is said about this demand for office.

⁽¹⁾ He sent one to the King of Siam. directly after he took Malacca, under DUARTE FERNANDEZ, with two Chinese merchant Captains on their way back to China.

⁽²⁾ CATALIM.—*Commentaries, Albuquerque.*

⁽³⁾ DANDRADA.—*Commentaries, Albuquerque.* Probably correctly DE ANDRADE.

forced him to flee for refuge in the woods, after many of his men were slain. A considerable quantity of artillery and ammunition was found in that part of the ground, after being plundered of much riches. Having received succour from Java, and from MAHMUD, the expelled king of Malacca, (1) QUITIR erected another fort in a convenient place at some distance from the city, where he became powerful by sea and land, being in hopes of usurping the sovereignty of Malacca. PEREZ went out against him, but, though he fought as valiantly as before, he was forced to retreat after losing three captains and four soldiers. (2) At this time LACSAMANA, an officer belonging to MAHMUD, entered the river of Malacca with a great number of men and many cannon on board several vessels. PEREZ attacked him with three ships, and a furious battle took place, which lasted for three hours, with much advantage on the side of the Portuguese; but night obliged the combatants to desist, and PEREZ took a position to prevent, as he thought, the Malayans from escaping out of the river during the darkness. But LACSAMANA threw up an intrenchment of such respectable appearance during the night, that it was thought too dangerous to attempt an attack, and PEREZ retired to the fort. At this time three ships entered the port from India, bringing a supply of ammunition and a reinforcement of 150 soldiers; but LACSAMANA had established himself so advantageously that he intercepted all the vessels carrying provisions for Malacca, which was reduced to such straits that many fell down in the streets from famine. The same plague attended PATE QUITIR in his quarters. When the season became fit for

(1) The Commentaries state that Sultan MAHMUD died of grief shortly after his arrival in Pahang, whence he despatched an uncle of his, Tûan NACEM MUDALIAR, with an embassy to China to ask for help in recovering his kingdom; which was unsuccessful, the emperor having heard of the favourable treatment Chinese traders at Malacca had received at the hands of ALBUQUERQUE. Tûan NACEM MUDALIAR died of chagrin on his way back.

(2) The Commentaries state that, after being driven out of his stockade the first time, he obtained a safe-conduct from ALBUQUERQUE, but would not remain in Malacca.

navigation, PEREZ set out with ships and a galley in quest of provisions. While sailing towards Singapore, the galley discovered a sail, and stuck by it till the fleet came up. It was found to be laden with provisions and ammunition for PATE QUITIR. PEREZ brought the captain and other headmen on board his own ships, where they attempted to slay the Portuguese, even PEREZ being stabbed in the back by a *kris* or dagger. Being foiled in this attempt, most of them leapt into the sea, but some were taken and put to the rack, who confessed that there was a son of QUITIR among them, and that they were followed by three other vessels similarly laden. These were likewise captured and carried to Malacca. At the same time GOMEZ DE CUNHA arrived with his ships with provisions from Pegu, where he had been to settle a treaty of amity and commerce with the king of that country. The famine being thus appeased and the men recovered, PEREZ attacked PATE QUITIR by sea and land; and having fortunately succeeded in the capture of his fortified quarters, which were set on fire, that chieftain was forced to retire to Java, and LACSAMANA, on seeing this success of the Portuguese, retired with his forces.

This island (Java) is almost 100 leagues in length from east to west, but is narrow in proportion to its breadth, being divided by a long range of mountains through its whole length, like the Apennines of Italy, which prevents intercourse between the two coasts. It has several ports and good cities, and its original inhabitants appear to have come from China. (1) In after times the Moors of Malacca possessed themselves of the sea-coast, obliging the natives to take shelter in the forests and mountains of the interior. At this period a Malay chief named PATI UNUS was lord of the city of Japara, (2) who became afterwards King of Sunda. Indignant that the metropolis of the Malayan territories should be possessed by the enemies of the Mahometan faith, he had been seven years preparing a powerful armament of ninety sail to attempt the

(1) There was a very early intercourse between Java and China.

(2) Japara was in Java proper, not in Sunda.

conquest of Malacca, during all which time he kept up a secret correspondence with the Javan Malays who inhabited that city. Several of his ships were equal in size to the largest Portuguese galleons, and the one destined for himself was larger than any ships then built by the Europeans. Having completed his preparations, he embarked with 12,000 men and a formidable train of artillery, and appeared suddenly before the city. FERDINANDO PEREZ immediately embarked with 350 Portuguese and some native troops in seventeen vessels, and attacked the Javan fleet, with which he had an obstinate engagement, doing considerable damage to the enemy, but night parted the combatants. Next morning PATI UNUS endeavoured to get into the river Muar with his fleet, but PEREZ pursued him, and penetrating into the midst of the enemy, plied his cannon and fireworks with such success that many of the Javan ships were sunk or set on fire. After a furious battle of some endurance, UNUS fled, and was pursued all the way to Java, where he preserved his own vast vessel as a memorial of his escape and of the grandeur of his fleet, and not without reason, as a merchant of Malacca engaged to purchase it of PEREZ for 10,000 ducats if taken. This victory cost the Portuguese some blood, as several were slain, and few escaped without wounds. From this time forwards, the natives of Java were for ever banished from Malacca.

Soon after this brilliant victory, FERDINANDO PEREZ sailed from Malacca to Cochin with a valuable cargo of spice, accompanied by LOPEZ DE AZEVEDO and ANTONIO DE ABREU, who came from the discovery of the Molucca islands with three ships. After their arrival at Cochin, ANTONIO DE MIRANDA arrived there from Siam, to the great joy of ALBUQUERQUE, who thus reaped the rich fruits of his care and labour for the acquisition of Malacca, and the happy return of those whom he had sent upon other discoveries.

King MAHMUD had not yet lost all hope of recovering Malacca, to which he now drew near; and having in vain attempted to succeed by force, he had recourse to stratagem. For this purpose he prevailed on a favourite officer named Tûan MAXI-

LIZ ⁽¹⁾ to imitate the conduct of ZOPIRUS at Babylon. Being accordingly mutilated, Tûan MAXILIZ fled with some companions to Malacca, giving out that he had escaped from the tyrannical cruelty of his sovereign. RUY DE BRITO, who then commanded in the citadel of Malacca, credited his story, and reposed so much confidence in his fidelity that he was admitted at all times into the fortress. At length, having appointed a particular day for the execution of his long-concerted enterprise, on which MAHMUD was to send a party to second his efforts or to bring him off, he and his accomplices got admittance into the fort as usual, and immediately began to assassinate the Portuguese garrison by means of their daggers, and had actually slain six before they were able to stand to their defence. BRITO, who happened to be asleep when the alarm was given, immediately collected his men, and drove the traitor and his companions from the fort, at the very moment when a party of armed Malays came up to second their efforts. The commander of his party, named Tûan CALASCAR, on learning the miscarriage of Tûan MAXILIZ, pretended that he came to the assistance of BRITO, and by that means was permitted to retire.

Soon after this, PEDRO DE FARIA arrived at Malacca from the Straits of Sabam, bringing with him ABDELA ⁽²⁾ King of Campar, who, being no longer able to endure the insolence of his father-in-law MAHMUD, came to reside in security under the protection of the Portuguese in Malacca. This was in the month of July, 1543, ⁽³⁾ shortly after the arrival of GEORGE DE ALBUQUERQUE from Goa to command at Malacca. By instruction from the viceroy, ABDELA was appointed Bendara, or Governor of the natives, which office had till then been enjoyed by NINACHETU, who was now displaced on account of some miscarriage or malversation. NINACHETU, who was a Gentoo, so much resented this affront, that he resolved to give a signal demonstration of his fidelity and concern. He was

⁽¹⁾ Majlis (?).

⁽²⁾ ABDULLAH.

⁽³⁾ 1513 (?).

very rich, and gave orders to dress up a scaffold or funeral pile in the market-place or bazaar of Malacca, splendidly adorned with rich silks and cloth of gold, the middle of the pile being composed of a vast heap of aromatic wood of high price. The entire street from his dwelling to the pile was strewed with sweet-scented herbs and flowers, and adorned with rich hangings, corresponding to the magnificence of the pile. Having collected all his friends, and clad himself and family in splendid attire, he went in solemn procession to the bazaar, where he mounted the scaffold and made a long harangue, in which he protested his innocence, and declared that he had always served the Portuguese with the utmost zeal and fidelity. Having ordered the pile to be fired, and seeing the whole in flames, he declared that he would now mount to heaven in that flame and smoke, and immediately cast himself into the flaming pile, to the great admiration of all the beholders.

At this time the king of Campar had gone home, intending to return to assume his office of Bendara, but was hindered by MAHMUD and the king of Bintang, who fitted out a fleet of 70 sail with 2,500 men under the command of the king of Lingga, and besieged Campar, in the harbour of which town there were 8 Portuguese vessels and some native praus, under the command of GEORGE BOTTELLO. Observing this squadron to be somewhat careless, the king of Lingga fell suddenly with his galley on the ship commanded by BOTTELLO, followed by the rest of his fleet; but met with so warm a reception that his galley was taken, so that he had to leap overboard, and the rest of the enemy's fleet was put to flight. The siege was now raised, and BOTTELLO conveyed the king of Campar to Malacca, where he exercised the office of Bendara with so much judgment and propriety, that in four months the city was visibly improved, great numbers of people resorting thither who had formerly fled to MAHMUD to avoid the oppressions of NINACHETU. Perceiving the growth of the city under the wise administration of ABDELA, MAHMUD determined to put a stop to this prosperity by means of a fraud peculiar to a Moor. He gave out secretly, yet so that it might spread abroad, that his son-in-law had gone over to the Portuguese at Malacca with his knowledge and consent,

and that the same thing was done by all those who seemed to fly there from Bintang, with the design to seize upon the fort on the first opportunity, and restore it to him who was the lawful prince. This secret, as intended by MAHMUD, was at length divulged at Malacca, where it produced the intended effect, as the commandant, GEORGE DE ALBUQUERQUE, gave more credit to this false report than to the honest proceedings of the Bendara, who was tried and condemned as a traitor, and had his head cut off on a public scaffold. In consequence of this event, the city was left almost desolate by the flight of the native inhabitants, and was afterwards oppressed by famines.

Some time after, we find Malacca was again distressed, through the misrule of the then Governor, GEORGE DE BRITO, and others, which occasioned almost all the native inhabitants to desert the city in order to avoid oppression. In this situation, MAHMUD, the exiled king, sent a considerable force to attempt recovering his capital, under the command of CERILIGE Rajah ⁽¹⁾ his general. CERILIGE intrenched his army, and so pressed the besieged that the Portuguese would assuredly have been driven from Malacca, had not DON ALEXIUS DE MENEZES arrived to assume the Government, with a reinforcement of 300 men. MENEZES secured the safety of Malacca by supplying it with men and ammunition, and appointed ALFONSO LOPES DE COSTA to the under-government, in place of BRITO, who was dying. DUANTE ⁽²⁾ DE MELO was left there with a naval force; and DUARTE COELLO was sent with an embassy and present to the king of Siam to confirm a treaty of peace and amity, and to request of him to send a colony of his subjects to inhabit Malacca, so that the Moors, whom he hated as much as the Portuguese did, might be for ever excluded from that place. All this was agreed to, and, as a testimonial of his friendship to the Christians, he caused a cross, ornamented with the arms of Portugal, to be erected in a conspicuous part of the city of Hudia, ⁽³⁾ where he then resided. Having

(1) Sri ADIKA (?) or Sri LELA (?).

(2) DUARTE.

(3) Ayuthia, the then capital, higher up the river.

thus succeeded in his mission, COELLO was forced by stress of weather upon the coast of Pahang, where he was received in a friendly manner by the king, who voluntarily submitted to become a vassal to the crown of Portugal, and to pay a cup of gold as an annual tribute. This was done more from hatred to the king of Bintang than from love to the Portuguese.

The kingdom of Siam at that time was one of the greatest in the East, the two other of greater consequence being China and Bisnagar. The great river Menam runs through the middle from North to South, having its source in the great lake of Chiamay, in lat 30° N., and its mouth in lat 13° N., so that the length of this kingdom is 330 leagues. On the west it joins Bengal, on the south Malacca, on the north China, and on the east Cambodia. The territory contains both mountains and plains, and it is inhabited by many different races of people, some of whom are extremely cruel and barbarous, and even feed on human flesh. Among these, the Guei ornament themselves with figures impressed with hot irons. ⁽¹⁾ Siam abounds in elephants, cattle, and buffaloes. It has many sea-ports and populous cities, Hudia being the metropolis or residence of the Court. The Siamese build sumptuous temples, in which they have images of vast size. They are very religious, sparing in their diet, much given to divination, and addicted to the study of astrology. The country is extremely fertile, and abounds in gold, silver, and other metals. The memorable services of the subjects are recorded, that they may be read to the kings.

In the year 1518, the king of Bintang ⁽²⁾ again attacked Malacca by land, with 1,500 men and many elephants, while 60 vessels blockaded the harbour. The Portuguese garrison consisted only of 200 men, many of whom were sick, but the danger cured them of their fevers, and every one ran to repel the enemy. After a severe encounter of three hours, the

⁽¹⁾ This account of Siam seems to be borrowed direct from stanzas 125 and 126 of the tenth canto of the *Lusiads*. See Mr. SATOW's Bibliography of Siam *supra* p. Ed.

⁽²⁾ Bentan.

enemy was repulsed with great loss. He continued, however, before the town for three weeks, and then retired, having lost 330 men, while 18 of the Portuguese were slain. On the arrival of reinforcements, having been much injured by frequent inroads from the fort of Muar, not far from Malacca, the Portuguese took that place by assault, killing most of the garrison, which consisted of 800 Moors, and after securing the spoil burnt Muar to the ground. There were 300 cannons at this place, some of which were brass. Nothing more of any note happened this year, except that DIEGO PACHECO with most of his men were lost in two ships, which went in search of the Island of Gold, which probably is Japan.

In the year 1519, ANTONIO CORREA concluded a treaty of amity and commerce with the king of Pegu, which was mutually sworn to between him and the king and ministers, assisted by the priests of both nations, Catholic and Pagan. The heathen priest was called the grand RAULIM, who, after the treaty or capitulation was read, made according to their custom in the golden mine, began to read from a book, and then taking some yellow paper, a colour dedicated to holy purposes, and some sweet-smelling leaves impressed with certain characters, set both on fire; after which, holding the hands of the minister over the ashes, he pronounced some words which rendered the oath inviolable. The metropolis of the kingdom is called Bagou, corruptly called Pegu, which name is likewise given to the kingdom. It has the Bay of Bengal on the west, Siam on the east, Malacca on the south, and Arracan on the north. This kingdom is almost 100 leagues in length, and in some places of the same breadth, not including the conquered provinces. The land is plain, well watered, and very fertile, producing abundance of provisions of all kinds, particularly cattle and grain. It has many temples, with a prodigious multitude of images, and a vast number of ceremonies.

At this time GEORGE ALBUQUERQUE was sent to Sumatra, on purpose to restore a king of Pisang, ⁽¹⁾ who had been

(1) Pâsei. ALBUQUERQUE, on his way to Malacca, had met him going to Java, and promised to aid in restoring him to his kingdom.

expelled and fled to the Portuguese for protection and aid. On his arrival, having secured the co-operation and assistance of the neighbouring king of Ara, ALBUQUERQUE sent a message to the usurper desiring him to resign the kingdom to the lawful prince, who had submitted to the king of Portugal. GENIAL, ⁽¹⁾ the usurper, offered to make the same submission if allowed to retain possession, but this offer was refused. ALBUQUERQUE then attacked GENIAL in his fort, which was scaled and the gate broken open; yet the usurper and thirty men valiantly defended a tower over the gateway, till GENIAL was slain by a musket-shot, on which the others immediately fled. The Portuguese troops, about 300 in number, were opposed by 3,000 Moors in the market-place, assisted by some elephants. HECTOR DE SYLVEIRA endeavoured to strike one of these in the trunk with his lance, which the last put aside, and laying hold of SYLVEIRA threw him into the air, yet he had the good fortune to survive. Two other Portuguese soldiers had better success, as one of them killed the rider and the other wounded the elephant, on which he turned among his own party, whom he trampled to death without mercy. The Moors now retired to another post, but with the aid of the king of Ara ⁽²⁾ they were completely defeated by the Portuguese, 2,000 of them being slain. In this battle ALBUQUERQUE received two wounds in his face, and four or five persons of note were killed on the side of the Portuguese, besides a great many wounded. Next day the dispossessed Prince of Pisang ⁽³⁾ was reinstated with much ceremony, being made tributary to the King of Portugal, and a fort was erected at his capital, as at other places, to keep him under subjection.

The island of Sumatra extends in length, from the north-west to the south-east, for about 220 leagues, by 70 in its greatest breadth, and is cut nearly in two equal parts by the equinoctial line. It is separated from Malacca by a nar-

⁽¹⁾ Jênal (?).

⁽²⁾ Aru.

⁽³⁾ Pâsei.

row strait, and its most southern point is parted from Java by one still narrower. Java is about 100 leagues long by twelve in breadth. To the east of Sumatra is the great island of Borneo, through which likewise the equinoctial line passes, leaving two-thirds of the island on the north side of the line. The maritime parts of Sumatra are flat, but the interior is full of mountains, pervaded by many large rivers, and covered by impenetrable woods which even the rays of the sun are unable to pierce. Owing to these circumstances Sumatra is very unhealthy, yet is much resorted to for its rich and valuable productions, and particularly on account of its abounding in gold ⁽¹⁾. Besides gold, it produces white sandal-wood, benzoin, camphor, pepper, ginger, cinnamon, abundance of silk, and abounds in fish and cattle. It has in one part a spring of petroleum or rock oil, and one of its mountains is a volcano. The original natives of the island are Pagans, but the Moors, who came there first as merchants, have possessed themselves of the island as lords, ever since the year 1400. Among the island tribes is one called Batas, who are of most brutal manners, and even feed on human flesh. The Moors, who dwell on the coast, use several languages, but chiefly the Malay. Their weapons are poisoned arrows, like those of the natives of Java, from whom they are descended, but they likewise use fire-arms.

This island is divided into nine kingdoms, of which Pedir was once the chief; but now that of Pacem ⁽²⁾ or Pisang is the most powerful, yet its kings only continue to reign so long as it pleases the rabble.

At this time ANTONIO DE BRITO arrived at Pisang from Acheen, where his brother GEORGE DE BRITO had been slain by the Moors, with a great number of men, in a scandalous attempt to rob the sepulchres of the kings of that country of

⁽¹⁾ Found chiefly in the districts of Limun, Bâtang Asei, and Pangkalan Jambi, lying south of Korinchi, about tributaries of the Jambi river. The gold is found in a yellow and sometimes reddish clay near a stratum of white crystals, quartz.

⁽²⁾ Pâsei.

a great quantity of gold they were said to contain. ANTONIO was now left by ALBUQUERQUE in the command of the new fort of Pisang, with three ships, which were afterwards of great service against a Moor who infested the coast. On his return to Malacca, of which he had the command, ALBUQUERQUE prepared to make war upon the king of Bintang. That island, about 40 leagues from Malacca, is 40 leagues in circumference, having two strong castles, and its rivers staked to prevent the access of ships, so that it was considered as almost impregnable. ALBUQUERQUE went from Malacca with 18 vessels and 600 men, and finding it impossible to get his ships up, he endeavoured to land his men from boats to attack one of the forts; but the water being up to their middles, and the enemy making a brave resistance, they were forced to retire, after losing twenty men, besides a great number wounded.

In the same year, 1521, ANTONIO DE BRITO sailed for the Molucca islands. These islands are in the middle of a great number of others under the equator, about 300 leagues east from Malacca. There are five principal islands to which the general name of Moluccas is applied, about 25 leagues distant from each other, the largest not exceeding six leagues in circumference. The particular names of these are Ternate, Tidore, Mousell, ⁽¹⁾ Macquein, ⁽²⁾ and Bacham. They are covered with woods and subject to fogs, and are consequently unhealthy. These five islands produce cloves, but no kind of food; and the large island of Batochina, ⁽³⁾ which is 60 leagues long, produces food but no cloves. In some of these islands, particularly Ternate, there are burning mountains. The chief subsistence of the people is of a kind of meal made from the bark of certain trees resembling the palm. There are certain canes that have a liquor in their hollows between the joints,

(¹) This may be meant for Misol, in which case it is a mistake, as that lies further south-east off the west coast of New Guinea, between it and Ceram; or it may be meant for Morotai, the other of the Molucca isles, lying north-east of Gilolo.

(²) Makian.

(³) Bâchan.

which is delightful to drink. Though the country abounds in animals, the natives eat very little flesh, but live chiefly on fish, which their seas produce inexhaustibly. They are very warlike and by no means affable, and are most expert both in running and swimming. Their religion is idolatrous, but we have no account whatever respecting their origin. The Moors had possessed themselves of this country not long before the coming of the Portuguese, as a Mahometan priest who had come along with the first of the Moorish invaders was still alive at the arrival of BRITO.

The following account of a struggle which the Portuguese had with the Chinese may not be uninteresting:—

In one of the former years, FERDINANDO PEREZ DE ANDRADA had established a trade at Quan-tung, or Canton, on China, which was so exceedingly profitable that every one was eager to engage in it. In the present year, 1521, SIMON DE ANDRADA was sent by SEQUEIRA to China with five ships, and cast anchor in the port of the island of Tamou opposite to Canton, where his brother had been formerly. The Portuguese ambassador to the Emperor of China still remained at that place, but set out soon afterwards up a large river, with three vessels splendidly decorated with Portuguese colours, it being a received custom that none but those of China should be seen there, which are *gules, a lion rampant*. In this manner he arrived at the foot of a mountain from which that great river derives its source. This mountainous ridge, called Malexam, beginning at the bay of Cochin China on the borders of Yunnan province, runs through the three southern provinces of China, Quang-se, Quantung, and Fo-kien, dividing them from the interior provinces, as Spain is divided from France by the Pyrenees. THOMAS PEREZ, leaving the vessels at this place, travelled northwards to the city of Nankin, where the king then was, having spent four months in the journey without stopping at any place. The emperor, however, thought proper to appoint his audience at Peking, a city far distant, to which place PEREZ accordingly followed. While on the journey, SIMON DE ANDRADA behaved himself so improperly in the island of Tamou, that an account of his proceedings was sent to court, and THOMAS PEREZ and his companions were con-

demned to death as spies. The rigour of his sentence was mitigated, but the embassy was not received, and PEREZ was sent back as a prisoner to Canton, with orders that the Portuguese should restore Malacca to its native king, who was a vassal to China; in which case the embassy would be received, but otherwise the ambassador and his suite were to be put to death, and the Portuguese for ever excluded from China as enemies. SIMON DE ANDRADA conducted himself with a high hand, as if he had been king of Tamou, where he raised a fort, and set up a gallows to intimidate the people. He committed violence against the merchants who resorted to the port, and bought young people of both sexes, giving occasion to thieves to steal them from their parents. These extravagant proceedings lost nothing in their transmission to court, and were the cause of the severe orders respecting PEREZ and his followers.

At this time DIEGO CALVA arrived, with one ship from Lisbon and several others from Malacca, and in consequence of this addition to their strength, the Portuguese acted still more insolently than before, and so exasperated the governors of the province that they apprehended several of them, and even contrived to take the last-arrived ship. At the commencement of hostilities, DUARTE COELLO arrived from Malacca with two ships well manned and armed. The Itao, or Chinese admiral in these seas, attacked the Portuguese with fifty ships, and though he did them some damage, he was so severely handled by the artillery that he was forced to retire and to remain at some distance, keeping up a strict blockade. After matters had remained in this state for forty days, AMBROSE DE REGO arrived with two additional ships from Malacca, and the Portuguese determined upon forcing their way through the Chinese fleet. The battle on this occasion was very bloody, but, in consequence of a gale of wind dispersing the Chinese fleet, the Portuguese were enabled to get away from the island of Tamou. The Itao revenged himself upon such of the Portuguese as had fallen into his hands, and particularly upon THOMAS PEREZ and his companions, who were all slain, and their baggage robbed of the present intended for the emperor, and of all the commodities which

PEREZ had purchased during his residence in China. Such was the profitableness of the China trade at this time, that PEREZ, though only an apothecary of mean parentage, had by this time acquired 2,000 weight of rhubarb, 1,600 pieces of damask, 400 pieces of other silks, above 100 ounces of gold, 2,000 ounces of silver, 84 pounds of loose musk, above 3,000 purses or coods of that perfume called *papos*, and a great deal of other commodities.

Between the years 1522 and 1524 Malacca was much straitened by the king of Bintang, ⁽¹⁾ who sent a powerful armament against it, to oppose which GEORGE ALBUQUERQUE sent a naval force under DON SANCHO ENRIQUEZ; but in a violent storm 70 out of 200 Portuguese were lost. Till now the king of Pahang had sided with the Portuguese; but seeing the tide of fortune had turned against them, he too became their enemy. Ignorant of this change, ALBUQUERQUE sent three ships to his port for provisions, where two of his captains and thirty men were killed. The third made his escape, but was slain with all his men at Java. SIMON ABREU and his crew were slain on another occasion, and two vessels sent to prevent provisions from getting into Bintang were lost. At this time MASCARENHAS, who waited in Malacca for the proper season of sailing to Cochin to assume the government, went against Bintang with twenty-one ships and 400 Portuguese soldiers, having likewise 600 Malays commanded by Tûan MAHOMET and SINAI Rajah. Although the capital of Bintang was well fortified and defended by 7,000 men, MASCARENHAS surmounted every opposition and took the place. Of the enemy 400 were slain and 2,000 taken prisoners. A vast booty was made on this occasion, among which were nearly 300 pieces of cannon; and the Portuguese lost only three men in this glorious exploit. The king of Bintang died of grief, and MASCARENHAS restored the kingdom to the lawful heir under vassalage to Portugal, the former king having been an usurper.

(1) Bentan.

The island of Sunda is divided on the south from Java by a very narrow channel. It produces pale gold with abundance of pepper and provision. The natives are numerous but unwarlike, yet are curious in adorning their arms. They worship idols, and often sell their children to supply their necessities. The women are beautiful, those of the higher ranks being chaste, contrary to what is usual in most parts of the world. They have convents as in Spain and Portugal, in which they reside while virgins; and the married women kill themselves on the death of their husbands. This would be a good custom to show their duty and affection, were it not contrary to the law of nature, and therefore a barbarous error. ENRIQUE SEME happening to go there, drawn by the plenty and goodness of its peppers, was well received by the king SAMIAM, who offered ground for a fort, and to pay a yearly tribute of 351 quintals of pepper to purchase the friendship and support of the Portuguese against the Moors, by whom he was much infested. But when FRANCISCO DE SA came to build the fort, he met with such opposition from the Moors that he was obliged to return to Malacca.

We find afterwards that in the year 1571 another attempt was made by the Moors to wrest Malacca from the power of the Portuguese. The king of Acheen was one of the Indian princes who had entered into the grand confederacy against the Portuguese, and had agreed to lay siege to Malacca, but did not execute his part of the league till about the middle of October 1571, when he appeared before Malacca with a fleet near 100 sail, in which he had 7,000 soldiers, with a large train of artillery and a vast quantity of ammunition. Landing on the night of his arrival, he set fire to the town of Iler, ⁽¹⁾ which was saved from total destruction by a sudden and violent shower of rain. He next endeavoured to burn the Portuguese ships in the harbour, but failing in this and some minor enterprizes, he sat down before the city, intending to take it by a regular siege, having been disappointed in his expectations of carrying it by a *coup de main*.

(1) A mistake for "Bandar Hilir."

At this time Malacca was in a miserable condition, excessively poor, having very few men, and these unhealthy and dispirited, having suffered much by shipwreck, sickness, and scarcity of provisions; not without deserving these calamities, for Malacca was then the Portuguese Nineveh in India; I know not if it be so now. In this deplorable situation, incessantly battered by the enemy, cut off from all supplies of provisions, Malacca had no adequate means and hardly any hopes of defence. In this extremity, TRISTAN VAZ accidentally entered the port with a single ship, in which he had been to Sunda for a cargo of pepper. Being earnestly entreated by the besieged to assist them, he agreed to do everything in his power, though it seemed a rash attempt to engage a fleet of 100 sail with only ten vessels, nine of which were almost rotten and destitute of rigging. Among these he distributed 300 naked and hungry wretches; and though confident in his own valour, he trusted only in the mercy of God, and caused all his men to prepare for battle by confession, of which he set them the example. He sailed from Malacca with this armament about the end of November 1571, and soon discovered the formidable fleet of the enemy in the river Fermo-so. (1) Giving the command of his own ship to EMANUEL FERRAGRA, TRISTAN VAZ DE VEGA went sword in hand into a galliot, to encourage his men to behave valiantly by exposing himself to the brunt of battle along with them. On the signal being given by a furious discharge of cannon, TRISTAN instantly boarded the admiral ship of the enemy, making great havoc in her crew of 200 men, and even carried away her ensign. FERDINANDO PEREZ, with only 13 men in a small vessel, took a galley of the enemy's. FERDINAND DE LEMOS ran down and sank one of the enemy's ships. FRANCISCO DE SIMA having taken another, set her on fire, that he might be at liberty to continue the fight. EMANUEL FERRAGRA sank three vessels, unrigged others, and slew great numbers of the enemy. In short, every one fought admirably, and the whole hostile fleet fled, except four galleys and seven small

(1) *i.e.* Batu Pahat.

vessels that were burnt or sunk. Seven hundred of the enemy were taken or slain, with the loss only of five men on the side of the victors. The Portuguese ships waited three days in the river to see if the enemy would return, and then carried the joyful news to Malacca, where it could hardly be believed. The king of Acheen appears to have raised the siege of Malacca after this naval victory.

Scarcely had India begun to enjoy some respite after the late troubles, when the queen of Japara sent her general QUIAFDAMAND to besiege Malacca, with 15,000 chosen natives of Java, in a fleet of 80 large galleons and above 220 smaller vessels. TRISTAN VAZ DE VEGA happened to be then at Malacca, and was chosen by common consent to assume the command, FRANCISCO ENRIQUEZ, the former commandant, being dead. TRISTAN VAZ sent immediate notice to Goa of his danger, on which MONYI issued orders to all the neighbouring places to send succours, and to fit out a fleet for its relief. In the meantime the Javanese army landed and besieged Malacca. VAZ sent JUAN PEREYRA and MARTIN FERREYRA with 150 men to drive the enemy from a fort. After killing 70 of the enemy, they levelled the work, and brought off seven pieces of cannon. PEREYRA afterwards burnt 30 of their galleons, and destroyed some great engines which they had constructed for attacking a bastion. Two other officers, in a sortie, burnt the palisades which the enemy had erected for straitening the garrison and defending their own quarters. After this, PEREYRA, going out of the river with the Portuguese vessels, besieged the besiegers, and at Jor took a large quantity of provisions that were going to the Javanese army. Upon these repeated misfortunes, the Javanese embarked in great consternation and withdrew under cover of night, but were pursued by PEREYRA, who cut off many of their vessels in the rear. Almost half of this great army perished by the sword or sickness in this siege, which lasted three months.

Hardly was the army of the queen of Japara gone from Malacca, when the king of Acheen arrived before it with 40 galleys and several ships and smaller vessels, to the number of 100 in all, with a great train of artillery. TRISTAN VAZ gave orders to JUAN PEREYRA in a galley, BERNARDIN DE SILVA

in a caravel, and FERDINAND DE PALARES in a ship, having each 40 men, to go out of the harbour on purpose to protect a convoy of provisions then on its way to Malacca, of which the city was in great want. The fleet of the enemy immediately attacked them, and soon battered all three ships to pieces. Seventy-five of the Portuguese were slain or drowned on this occasion, forty were made prisoners, and only five saved themselves by swimming. Only 150 men now remained in Malacca, of whom 110 were sick or aged. Being in want both of men and ammunition, TRISTAN VAZ was under the necessity of remaining very quiet; but the enemy, fearing he was preparing some stratagem against them, raised the siege in a panic of terror, when they might easily have carried the city, after remaining before it from the beginning to the end of January 1575. The priests, women and children of the distressed city had implored the mercy of God with sighs and tears; and, next to God, the city owed its safety to the courage of TRISTAN VAZ, and to his generosity likewise, as he spent above 20,000 ducats in its defence.

After this period, we find that the power of the Portuguese in India began to decline, and that of the Hollanders to rise. It may be interesting to know that, according to DE FARIA, ⁽¹⁾ the historian before us, it was in the year 1597 that the Dutch first ventured to India. We give his own words:

“In May 1597, Don FRANCISCO DE GAMA, Count of Vidu-
gueyra, grandson to the discoverer, arrived at Goa as viceroy of
India, but carried himself with so much haughty state that
he gained the dislike of all men. During his government
the scourge of the pride and covetousness of the Portu-
guese came first into India, as in the month of September
news was brought to Goa that the two first ships of the Hol-
landers that had ventured to navigate the Indian seas had
been in the port of Titangone, and were bound for the
island of Sunda. In a grand council held upon this important
event, it was ordered to fit out a squadron of two galleons,
three galleys, and nine other vessels to attack the intruders,

(1) FARIA Y SOUZA, Author of “Asia Portuguesa.”

and the command was given on this occasion to LORENZO DE BRITO, an ancient and experienced officer. The two Holland ships did some small damage on the coast of Malabar and other places, and when off Malacca fell in with six ships bound from that place for India, commanded by FRANCISCO DE SILVA. They immediately engaged, and fought the whole of the afternoon and part of the night. Next morning the engagement was renewed, and was repeated for eight successive days, till, finding themselves too weak, the Hollanders drew off and made for the port of Queda, many of their men being slain and most of the rest wounded. At that place they quitted the smallest of their ships for want of men, and the other was afterwards cast away on the coast of Pegu.

In the year 1597 the Hollanders fitted out a squadron of eight ships at Amsterdam for India, with 800 men and provisions for three years, under the command of the admiral JACOB CORNELIUS VAN NEC. The object of this expedition, besides hostility to the king of Spain, who at that time usurped the throne of Portugal, was that they might purchase the spices and other commodities of Asia at a cheaper rate than they had hitherto been accustomed to in Portugal. The fleet sailed from Amsterdam on the 13th of May 1598. On the 24th July they saw the Cape of Good Hope, where three of the ships were separated in a violent storm. The other five ships, under the admiral, discovered the island of Madagascar on the 24th of August, coming to Cape St. Julian on the 30th of that month. On the 20th of September they came to the island of Ceme or Cisne, in lat. 21° S., to which they gave the name of Mauritius. Here they found tortoises of such magnitude that one of them carried two men on its back, and birds which were so tame as to allow themselves to be killed with sticks, whence they concluded that the island was not inhabited. At Banda they joined the other three ships, and having laden four with spices, they were sent away to Holland, while the other three went into the Moluccas. On the 21st January 1599, they discovered the Great Java, and touched at the port of Tuban, after which they came to Madura, an island in lat. 2.30° S., on the 27th of that month. At this place they endeavoured to ransom

some of their countrymen who had been cast away in their former ships, and some others who had been made prisoners for endeavouring to pass false money; but as the natives demanded too high a ransom they attempted to rescue them by force; but two boats full of armed men being sunk in the attempt, they were forced to comply with the terms demanded. They settled a trade at Amboina, and two of the ships opened a factory at Banda, where they loaded with spice, and returned into Holland on the 20th of April 1600. Those who were left in the remaining ship at Amboina went to Ternate in the Moluccas, where they were well received by the king, and after procuring a lading of cloves returned home.

The Hollanders, becoming powerful at the Molucca islands, and forming an alliance with these islanders, who were weary of the avarice and tyranny of the Portuguese, expelled them from Amboina and established themselves at Ternate, whence the Portuguese had been formerly expelled by the natives, by the aid of the king of Ternate. The Hollanders likewise about 1604 got possession of the fort of Tidore, whence about 400 Portuguese were permitted to retire by sea to the Philippine Islands, where they were hospitably received by Don PEDRO DE CUNHA, who commanded there for the Spaniards. In February 1605, DE CUNHA sailed from the Philippines with 1,000 Spanish and 400 native troops, and recovered the fort of Ternate, chiefly owing to the bravery of JOAN RODRIGUES CAMALO, who commanded a company of Portuguese in this expedition. DE CUNHA thence proceeded for Tidore, which he likewise reduced, by which conquest the Molucca islands became subject to Spain.

About this time a large English ship and a ketch had an engagement with two Portuguese ships beyond the Cape of Good Hope, which escaped after suffering a severe loss. These English ships went afterwards to Surat, where they were found by NUNUS DE CUNHA, who had four well-manned galleons, but ill provided with gunners, who were ignorant and cowardly. On descrying these large ships, though the English had reason to be afraid of their number, they undervalued them as heavy sailors, and immediately engaged and fought them till evening, killing 30 of the Portuguese. The engagement recom-

menced at daylight next morning, and two of the Portuguese galleons, endeavouring to run on board the large English ship, got aground, on which the pink or ketch, belonging to the enemy, kept firing its cannon upon one of the grounded galleons, till it floated off with the evening tide. The other two galleons fought the large English ship all day. On the third day, all the four galleons being afloat, endeavoured to board the enemy, who relied on their cannon and swiftness, and sailed away to Castelete, a bay of the pirates near Diu. DE CUNHA followed them thither, and again fought them for two days, in all which time the Portuguese ships could never board them by reason of their unwieldly bulk. At length the English stood away, shewing black colours in token that their captain was slain. In these long indecisive actions the English and Portuguese both lost a number of men. The English made for Surat, followed still by DE CUNHA, on which they left that port, and DE CUNHA returned to Goa." How reversed is the order of things now!

OCCASIONAL NOTES.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

"*Notes on the Sultanate of Siak*" by H. A. Hymans van Anroij.—Under this title a most interesting treatise on Siak has recently appeared. The writer has been living for years in the Dutch Residency, East Coast of Sumatra, and, as an official in continual contact with the native population, has had better opportunities for prosecuting his researches than a private individual would have had.

Siak is the largest of the Malay Independent States on the East Coast of Sumatra. Its relations to the Dutch are in some degree the same as those of the Malay States of the Peninsula in respect of the English, although probably its independence is greater than that of Pérak, &c.

A few extracts from this very interesting book will, no doubt, be welcome to the members of the Society.

The Sultan, who is assisted by a minister, the Mangkubumi (formerly Raja Muda), naturally receives the largest part of the taxes due to the Government; he has besides the right to certain prerogatives pertaining exclusively to the Royal Office, amongst which are the so-called *barang larangan* or *larangan raja*.

We find similar prerogatives in Western monarchies, in a different shape.

The principal revenues of the Sultan of Siak are:—

1. The taxes on Imports and Exports collected on the different rivers in his dominions.
2. The tax on the *térabak* fishery.
3. A tax on strangers passing through his lands.

4. The monopoly of the sale of opium and salt, and the excise farms generally.
5. Statute labour.
6. A tenth on produce.
7. Money levies on his subjects whenever required.
8. The *serah-an* * trade in some parts of Siak proper, particularly in the Western dependencies.

The first four of the above-named taxes have been taken over, in consideration of a yearly fixed sum, by the Dutch Government, who also dispute the right of the Sultan to the *serah-an* trade in the dependencies.

The Sultan claims further the right to purchase at four-fifths or even at three-fourths of its value all the bees' wax collected in Siak; he may also sell to third persons the right to open settlements and collect produce, &c., on rivers not yet occupied; he may sell licenses for the felling and cutting of wood; and may give out lands for the laying out of plantations, &c.

It is, however, always understood that any rights possessed by native occupants to grounds so disposed of by the Sultan are properly settled for by him.

The above-mentioned *barang larangan* or *larangan raja* are such articles as are considered to be the exclusive property of the Sultan. Whoever collects or becomes possessed of such articles within Siak limits, is bound to give them up to the Sultan. Though not without value, they must be considered *curiosa* rather than *preciosa*, and as such are to be taken less as a source of revenue than as a perquisite of royalty. They are:—*Gading* (ivory), *sumbok badak* (rhinoceros horn), *guliga* (bezoar), *gaharu merupa*, *chula tupei*, *jaring napoh* and *musang chabu*, and, to a certain degree, camphor. (This latter article is however treated somewhat differently, as will be shown further on.)

Of every male elephant, killed or found dead in the jungle, one of the tusks is to be given to the Sultan, the second remaining the property of the finder. Should the Sultan wish

* The "*serah-an*" trade is a monopoly for the sole right of the sale of salt and iron (particularly tools like *parangs*, &c.).—F. K.

to have the second tusk too, he must pay the usual market price for it.

The finder or hunter gets in exchange for the first tusk a set of new clothing (*per-salin-an*).

Ivory sells in Siak at different prices, according to the different size of the tusks. If the pair weighs above one *pikul*, the price is \$250 per *pikul*; where the weight is about half a *pikul* for both tusks the price is \$150 for the pair; smaller tusks fetch \$1 per *kati*.

Every rhinoceros' horn found is considered the property of the Sultan. The finder gets for it a *per-salin-an*. This article is in great request by the natives as medicine, and is said by them to be particularly efficacious in wounds and snake-bites.

Its value is on the average from \$20 to \$60.

A great rarity is a white horn, for which Chinese will pay as much as \$100.

The general opinion is that the difference between the rhinoceros of Java and that of Sumatra consists in the former having two horns and the latter one only. I am, however, informed on good authority that rhinoceroses with two horns are sometimes, though rarely, met with in Siak.

Guliga,* or Bezoar stone, is a stone found in the intestines of certain animals—bears, monkeys, serpents, porcupines and others.

The *guliga* in Siak, which is considered to belong to the *larangan raja* is an intestinal stone found in a kind of porcupine living principally in the upper reaches of the Mandau. The Sakeis living in this region are the only persons who collect these stones, which they deliver to the Sultan partly as a revenue, partly as *barang larangan*.

By right, all the *guligas* found by them are the Sultan's, the greater number, however, are clandestinely sold to Malay and Chinese traders.

According to their size, they are worth from \$40 to \$600 a piece.

* See "On the Guliga of Borneo" in No. 4 of this Journal 56-58.—F. K.

Their value, however, does not merely rise with their weight, but, as in the case of precious stones, rises out of all proportion with the mere increase in weight. A *guliga* weighing 1 *ringgit* (8 *mayam*) costs \$600, whereas one of the weight of 3 *mayam* will only be worth \$100.

For *guligas*, particularly large ones, extraordinary prices are sometimes paid. The Sultan of Siak possesses one said to be valued at \$900.

Natives maintain that they are an almost infallible medicine in cases of chest or bowel complaints, but their principal value is founded on their reputed virtue as a powerful aphrodisiac. To operate in this way, one is worn on the navel tied up in a piece of cloth, or water in which one has been soaked is drunk.

The *gaharu merupa* is a piece of strangely formed *gáharu* wood having a rough resemblance to some living creature, be it a bird, a dog, a cat or something else.

The writer of these lines has never been able to see one of these *gaharu merupa*, and it would seem that none have been found in Siak in recent times.

The power which it is believed to possess rests on the supposition that it is the spirit of the *kayu gaharu*. With it in hand, the holder is sure to make large finds of *gáharu* wood in the jungle.

The *gaharu* wood is not the wood of a tree named *gaharu*, but is the product of a tree of the name of *karas*. When this tree has died of old age and has fallen in the jungle, the wood, by some chemical process, forms into the substance known as *kayu gaharu*. Not all dead *karas* trees, however, contain *gaharu* wood, -whereas some will yield as much as two *pikuls*. Peculiar qualifications are required before a man can tell beforehand whether a log will contain any of the treasured odorific wood. The persons who possess the power of foretelling this are called *pawang*. The same name is used for people able to find other products. To find, for instance, with any certainty and quickly, articles like tin or camphor, a person must be a *pawang*.

Gaharu wood fetches \$0.50 to \$1.00 a *kati*, according to quality.

The *chula tupei* is the dried penis of the *tupei*, a kind of squirrel. Malays say that the dead body of the *tupei* is sometimes found with this organ held fast in a cleft of a cocoa-nut tree or bamboo.

I must leave it to others, better judges than myself, to say whether such a thing is possible.

Malays believe that the *chula tupei* is a very strong aphrodisiac, so strong that even to carry one has an effect.

The *taring napoh* is the eye-tooth, grown in ring form, of a *napoh*, a dwarf deer (in size between the *pelanduk* (*kanchil*) and the *kijang*), an animal which it appears is only found in Sumatra and surrounding islands.

The *taring* is worn as a ring, and forms what Malays call a *pēlias*, namely a protection which renders its bearer invulnerable. They are very rare. Another *pēlias*, which however is no *barang larangan*, is the *semambu* * *songsang*, that is a *semambu* which is deformed or presents some peculiarity of growth; another is *buntat tumbuh nyiur*, part of the kernel of a cocoa-nut turned to stone.

The *musang chabu* is a white *musang*, which whenever found is the Sultan's. It seems, however, to have no further useful quality than its extreme rarity. It appears to be so rare indeed that the writer has never found anybody who has seen one.

The camphor is so far considered as a *barang larangan* that nobody is allowed to go and collect it without having a special permit from the Sultan. This permit is only given after the Sultan has made sure that a good *pawang* accompanies the party, a man who is able to know from the outside of a tree whether it contains camphor or not.

The gratuity to be given to the *pawang* is not fixed by law, but is settled beforehand on every expedition, also the share of the Sultan.

The regulations which have to be observed when collecting camphor are most strange, for instance, those who go on the

* *Semambu*—better *rotan semambu*—is a rattan commonly known as Malacca cane.—F. K.

expedition, are not permitted during the whole time of its duration to wash or bathe; they have to use a peculiar language, which differs from ordinary Malay. Compare what is known on this point of similar usages amongst the Battaks.

The collectors have to go on through the jungle until the *hantu kapur* (the camphor spirit), a female, appears to the *patang* in his dreams and shows him the direction in which success may be expected.

Certain customs are observed in Siak in the collection of wax which may be mentioned here.

The *sialang* (that is, a tree on which bees have made nests) is generally considered to belong to him who finds it, provided it stands in a part of the forest belonging to his tribe. Should the tree stand in a part of the jungle apportioned to another tribe, the finder is permitted to take for once all the wax there is on the tree, and ever afterwards during his lifetime all the wax of one branch of the tree. After his death the tree again becomes the property of the tribe to whom that part of the jungle belongs.

When wax is collected from a tree, there are generally three persons to share in it, and the proceeds are divided as follows:—viz., one-third to the proprietor of the tree, one-third to the man who climbs the tree, and one-third to the man who keeps watch below. These two latter offices are considered rather dangerous; the first because he has to climb the towering *sialang* trees, branchless to a considerable height, by means of bamboo pegs driven into the trunk; and the watch-keeper underneath, because he has to face the bears and tigers who (so it is said) come after the wax and honey.

The following trees are generally inhabited by bees (*lebah*), and then become *sialungs*; near the sea, *pulei*, *kempas*, *kayu arah* and *babi kurus*; whilst further in the interior *ringas manuk*, and *chempedak ayer* are their generally habitats.

Besides the *lebah*, there is to be found in Siak another bee, called *neruan*, which does not make its nests on trees, but in holes.

The regulations observed when taking the wax of the *lebah* do not apply to the taking of the wax and honey of the *neruan*.

Anybody is at liberty to look for them wherever and whenever he likes.

F. KEHDING.

THE ALPHABETS OF THE PHILIPPINE GROUP.

PARDO DE TAVERA'S Essay on the Alphabets of the Philippines* was thus reviewed in March, 1885, by Professor MÜLLER of Vienna :—

“ Those of the inhabitants of the Philippines who belong to the Malay race possess, as is well known, their own particular alphabet, but it has become more and more obsolete, and has been superseded by the Roman character brought into the country by the Spanish missionaries together with the Christian religion. This alphabet which preserves its principal characteristics among the different tribes—the Tagalas, the Ylocos, the Visayas, and the Pampangas—is connected with the alphabet of cognate races in Celebes (Bugis, Makassar), and Sumatra (Battak, Redjang, Lampong), while both its external form (the shaping of the characters) and its internal design (the conception of the proportion of consonant to vowel) seem to point to India as its place of origin. But whether the alphabet of the Malay races has been derived from the Indian in a straight line, or whether it has been deduced from it by the intervention of another alphabet and what Indian alphabet (that is, the alphabet of what province and of what era) has been the foundation of the Malay ones—these are questions answered differently by different philologists, and have therefore at present to be treated as open ones.”

“ It would take us too far afield to go into these topics, but we venture to direct the attention of those readers who take a pleasure in following out this paleographically and ethnographically interesting problem, to certain pamphlets in

* *Contribucion para el estudio de los antiguos alfabetos filipinos*, (1884).

which he will find abundant information. They are 'The Alphabet, an Account of the Origin and Development of Letters,' by ISAAC TAYLOR, London, 1883, 2 volumes, and 'Eene bijdrage tot de kennis van' ande Philippijnsche letterschrift,' door H. KERN, the latter essay of the celebrated professor of Leyden, offers a solid critical exposition of the whole question, and must be read together with PARDO DE TAVERA's essay."

"The merit of PARDO DE TAVERA's interesting study consists in the way in which the author follows out the question, with special reference to the Philippines, more closely than his predecessors, and illustrates the question with several examples from the whole Philippine literature."

"The plate appended to the essay is of special interest, as it represents not less than 12 Philippine alphabets. Numbers 11 and 12 are obviously the same alphabet, only executed with different instrument on different material, No. 11 being written with a pen on paper, and No. 12 probably cut in wood with a knife."

"The Essay is dedicated to Professor B. BLUMENTRITZ in Termeritz, who is better acquainted with the Philippines than any one else in Germany." [See also a notice of the Alphabets of the Philippine Islands in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, XIV, 603, reprinted in *Essays relating to Indo-China*, (Trübner, 1886), I, 335, and Dr. Rost's note on p. 117 of that volume.—Ed.]

The *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie Commerciale de Paris*, (Tome VIII-1885-1886, 4th *Fascicule*) contains an article on the Singapore Prison. ("Le Nouvel Établissement Penitentiaire de Singapore" par M. CHARLES LEMIRE.)

GIFTS TO THE LIBRARY.

Professor J. KOHLER of Wurzburg (Germany) has been good enough to present the Society with a copy of the following papers:—"Zur Ethnologischen Jurisprudenz" and "Die Ehe mit und ohne Mundium," from the *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*; and "Das Handels-und Seerecht von Celebes," from the *Zeitschrift für Handelsrecht*.

A new map of British North Borneo has been received from His Excellency Governor TREACHER.

The Society has also received the following books and pamphlets in addition to the usual exchanges:—

Arabic Dictionary—BADGER. (Presented by the Secretary of State for India in Council.)

Glossary of Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases—YULE and BURNELL. (Presented by the Secretary of State for India in Council.)

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HAMY, Dr. E. T.:—

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Quelques Observations sur la Distribution Géographique.

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Association Française pour l'Avancement des Sciences—Congrès de Rouen.

Cook et Dalrymple.

Rapport sur le Concours du Prix Legerot.

Association Scientifique de France—Les Tolteques

Les Alfours de Gilolo.

Decades Americanæ, Mémoires d'Archeologie et d'Ethnographie Américaines.

Notes d'Anthropologie Paléontologique.

Les Nègres de la Vallée du Nil.

Commentaire sur un Bas-relief Aztèque, &c.

Note sur une Inscription Chronographique.

To the donors of the above the thanks of the Society are presented. The receipt of Journals of learned Societies and other periodical literature up to the end of 1886 will be acknowledged in a list which will be published with the next number of this Journal.

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